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is delightful, and useful as well, when kept ancillary to the great structural evolution seen in political and institutional history, but not otherwise; usurping the foremost place, it distorts the truth.

We cannot in the least agree with our author's view of the American Revolution as a disaster. No piece of greater good fortune ever attended the development of our common civilization. The movement of colonial opinion and practice which began almost with settlement, was interrupted by the Seven Years' War and was completed in 1776, finds little consideration in this volume. Yet it is so essential to the theme that, without comprehending the facts, all else is vague. So vital was the divergence of constitutional theory here from that in England, that the success of the British arms, as we read between these veracious lines themselves, would almost certainly have precipitated a revolution at home as radical, as violent and as disastrous to growth as the Continental revolution of 1789. Perhaps political disruption might have been avoided under the establishment of a personal absolute monarchy, for success would have meant nothing less; but in any case social disintegration, comparable to that of France, would have checked any expansion for an indefinite time. As it was, the dualism established by American independence has steadily wrought to the advantage of both democracies; the decent, law-abiding, energetic democrat of any and every nationality can to-day find under one or the other of the two flags whatever polity he likes best, social and political, and fields of enterprise conterminous with the globe. To have subdued a people of dissenters, to have repressed discontent by might, to have established an untimely centralization in America, military and political — in other words, to have hooped the English cask and driven in the bung, might have restored unity, but such unity as means ferment and ultimately explosion.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE.

*The United Kingdom.* By GOLDWIN SMITH. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1899. — Two volumes: 650 and 482 pp.

These volumes illustrate the variety of lessons which can be drawn from the record of the past; and they show to what extent the value of a history depends, not upon the facts which it narrates, but upon the manner in which they are presented by the narrator. In this work there is, in one sense, little that is new. No important facts in English history remain undiscovered; there is nothing novel in the growth of the English constitution which can be unearthed by any

historical student; and yet these volumes are interesting and valuable — because they are written by Goldwin Smith.

Any one familiar with his other writings would be sure that there would be no lack in interest. Mr. Smith possesses a style which is always agreeable and often brilliant. One could make a large collection of the apt and happy expressions found in the present volumes, and often an important political truth is stated with extraordinary felicity. The difference in political methods at a distance of three centuries is thus concisely stated:

The aristocratic factions, or connections, as they are styled, of the Hanoverian era fought for power and pelf with political weapons, and the vanquished lost their places. The aristocratic factions of the fifteenth century fought for power with their swords, and the vanquished lost their heads.

And with equal felicity he speaks of the growth of English law:

The common law held its ground and remained a strong though uncouth bulwark of personal right and liberty. What it had received into itself of Roman law seems to have operated as a sort of vaccination.

Mr. Smith is delicate of touch in his treatment of some questions. Speaking of the troubles which the episcopate encountered under Elizabeth in the matter of consecration, he says:

The story of the consecration at the Nag's Head without the requisite forms is an exploded fiction. Yet it must be owned, if apostolical succession is essential to spiritual life, that the spiritual life of the English church and nation here hung by a slender thread.

And again, in discussing members of the House of Lords under James I, he says:

They are no longer territorial potentates or leaders of the national force. They are simply persons of quality with large estates, to whose titles social, to whose domains local, influence is attached. The crown is the fountain of their honours. Some of them have paid round sums to make the fountain flow.

We could be sure that in any book written by Goldwin Smith he would express his views — we may sometimes say his prejudices — without concealment. We should not have expected to find him among the anti-Semites of Vienna and Paris, yet he seems to sympathize with the banishment of the Jews under Edward I. After speaking of the popular hatred in which the members of that race were then held, he continues: "That the Italian financier came in place of the Hebrew and reaped a measure of the same hatred is true; but he

did not threaten England with the perpetual ascendancy of an alien and unassociable race." It may be that the Jews, both in the past and in the present, have shown such visible superiority over most Continental peoples that they can obtain among them a "perpetual ascendancy." But neither the average Englishman nor the average Yankee has ever had any cause to fear the commercial ascendancy of the Jews.

Another of Mr. Smith's prejudices is manifested so frequently in this book as almost to excite amusement. He has an unconquerable hostility against what has been regarded as one of America's most important gifts to the world. For food, he says in one place, "the peasant was being driven to the barbarous and precarious potato." "The potato continued to beget low culture, uncertain harvests, periodical famines, and at the same time a reckless increase of population." And again he counts among the misfortunes under which Ireland suffered, "small holdings, spade tillage, life in hovels and the potato"; and he stigmatizes it as a "treacherous tuber." It seems hardly fair to calumniate a vegetable that has done so much to nourish the world, because its produce has not always reached the highest possible figure.

When the history of a nation is to be told in two volumes, even events of great importance must receive brief discussion. Less than twelve pages are devoted to the American Revolution. Goldwin Smith has always been a true friend of the United States, and he discusses the beginnings of our career with fairness—not, indeed, describing the Revolutionary fathers as heroes without fault or guile, but as men who, on the whole, did good work in the right cause. Occasionally, however, his criticisms on American life and institutions are somewhat harsh. Speaking of Hampden, he says:

He stands in history the type of a character which England has failed fully to transmit, as she has failed fully to transmit political independence generally, to her offspring in the New World.

I am not sure that this is correct. Such characters as Hampden are revealed to the world, not in the piping times of peace, but in great national crises. In everyday life we see little of them, but in times of stress they have not been lacking in our own land; nor has political independence been unknown among England's offspring in the New World. If men of Hampden's type are rare in our days, they were also rare in the days of Hampden.

Mr. Smith has described the changing phases of eight hundred

years without sign of weariness and with unfailing sympathy for the cause of progress. His own life, the part he has taken in questions of the day, assures us that his heart would be with those who in the past labored for better government and greater freedom, and he does not discuss historical problems with the chilly analysis of those who lose all human sympathy in their endeavor to trace the scientific evolution of humanity.

In his preface Mr. Smith refers to the fact that his task has been performed by the hand of extreme old age. Certainly, with advancing years, his hand has not lost its cunning, nor his mind its clearness. He has escaped the worst intellectual evils of age—the loss of sympathy with the present and the lack of confidence in the future. If his literary work is now ended, *The United Kingdom* will form an honorable close to a long and honorable career.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

JAMES BRECK PERKINS.

*The English Radicals.* An Historical Sketch. By C. B. ROYLANCE KENT. London, New York and Bombay, Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. — xii, 451 pp.

*English Political Philosophy, from Hobbes to Maine.* By WILLIAM GRAHAM. London, Edward Arnold, 1899. — xxx, 415 pp.

In these two works the political ideas of Englishmen during recent centuries receive from different points of view a fairly exhaustive treatment. Mr. Kent's book covers the period from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present day, while Professor Graham's begins a century further in the past. Although, as the two titles indicate, the purpose of the former work is less comprehensive than that of the latter, to a considerable extent the subject-matter is identical. Professor Graham makes his work a study of the thought of Hobbes, Locke, Burke, Bentham, J. S. Mill and Maine. Of these six, Burke incidentally and Bentham and J. S. Mill as chiefs of Radicalism are treated pretty fully by Mr. Kent.

In method of treatment, however, the two works are widely different. In *The English Radicals* we have a certain degree of attention to the forms and changes of principle and dogma; but the work is, on the whole, a series of personal sketches, abounding in anecdotes and highly flavored with the conversational and Parliamentary *bon mots* on which the historians of English politics are so